556

/For information on achieving prestige through the giving of gifts, especially at a potlatch, see category 116, pp. 163-262, and pp. 458-494./

Boas:Howaith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

* See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. [559] Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors is the beginning of time.

(2) *Kelalta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Alquntâm* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tyâmâil*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Qwathuta*.

Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Qwathuta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *qwathulum*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *qwathuta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *qwathuta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

Smithsonian E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Smithsonian 1924

424 crest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
999 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his
stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the
experience, and added that though he was quite willing to
accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning
them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola
have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of
exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
825 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a
painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[550] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delinea-
tion is a memento of family history. For that reason a man
is often tattooed[a] with his crest, that derived from his father's
first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the
left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow.
After the death of a chief a memorial post is erected over his
grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more
crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
490 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[a] This is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches, in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back room of the potlatch's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material, the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This began indefinitely and was to smile ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SOUL

The most important part of the human body is the soul-substance, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *star*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, its parents supply him with food and care, and *Hyamtsis* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Animals have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit is a new-born infant in weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly vaunting at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become sore or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit formulates every thought, as mortal low willing. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

child one of his own names, to which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the bestowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Boas Coast ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names embodied in its origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since bestowal of names is a source of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner.

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *Arghut* name, and the recipient as an *Arghut*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or ones from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of *chief* depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *Arghut* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *nilkung* (chief's) name.

[illegible]

establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bulu Creole unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong suffered by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the same town, about to attack *Ewod*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Bonga* (a village in inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

So far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bulu Creole groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. xv), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such chief-ness as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

U.Sc Dewith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

be continuously powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of initiation. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes of divorce.

At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, though the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[1]

[1] Cases not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and despised, of a morose disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several Indians pointed out how, in the old days, such a case could have found

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 536 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 536 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 599

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and we can feel no responsibility for the old man. [78]

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

224 424 [469] [551] [555] [556] 224 424 [184] [177] 223 424

THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. One of the latter is *Lalaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogatives. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogatives.

There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nacpalpiy* to catch goats at *Tal'in*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who paused his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand. He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 424 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in snares.

424 554 182 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige attached to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *semk* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *hamat* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *semk* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *semk* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *semk* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *semk*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *semk* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

[1] Called *xwlpus* in Kwakiutl.

In McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE Bellacoola NE6

177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with
named ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

424 The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
535 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
575 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
[773] designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a
dance organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society.
This is closely associated both with the *nusuk* society and with
chiefs, owing to the occurrence of the three types of names
in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[552] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name,
another to make himself a *nusuk*, a third to become an *a'alk*,
and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may
be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *nusuk* or *tsaiat* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are united to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

552 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate
this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults
his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will
be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfac-
torily, he chooses three young relatives as the recipient of the
dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth se-
lected to decline the honour. Or[illegible]e man, other than the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do.

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family.

On the night of *släetsum*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *nusuk* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sïsi*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *nusuk*, one of the many points of resemblance

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alk* returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *tsiki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutsinaam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alk* nor *nuuxé* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

The coming of a *tutsinaam* is one of the points of resemblance between *a'alk* and *nuuxé* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *nuuxé* have recently employed *tutsinaam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *nuuxé*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization.

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests.

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nuqnuk*,[4] *tlaiyákaw*, *q'aqa*, and *am'lal'a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and woman with the required prerogative begin to drum. If his prerogative is as a *tlaiyákaw* or *q'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, outwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *nuqnuk* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

[4] Among the supernatural beings, the *nuqnuk* is a startling mountain goat.

1) McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NES

552 575 535 [595] or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten out for a *nuxpual* or *aw'ik'a* dancer is the same. He too comes near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the singers in unison bellow out, *W'ai·*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *W'ai·*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nuxpual* and *aw'ik'a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

574 575 535 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are attached to *o'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the [794] [illegible] dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *nuxnit* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *nuxnit* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *o'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the hosuhls invite the guests in his *o'alk* name. These summoned include both members of the society

1:McDougall E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alk*, the *hesiut* are well organized and regulated, its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *hesiut* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *hesiut* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *hesiut* customarily endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *hesiut* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *hesiut* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *hesiut* (II, p. 6). In recent years the *hesiut* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Comments

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprised the greatest of the Bella Coola ritual so far as no others could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine* as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of house-locks.

1:McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bella Coola NEA

he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling.

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *nusuk*, *o'alk*, or even *haxiat*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small.

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *haxiat* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else but, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *haxiat* songs are first beaten out, followed by *nusuk* and *o'alk*, and the owner

Library of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University
MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign guests, calls in his neighbours for a round dance and initiates some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter *social* dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *s'ult* performances, and for another type of rite, described next.

b:Mc Dermith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bulletin 148

ons, *wacidákaq*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *wacidákaq*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A child who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *wacidákaq* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *wacidákaq* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tsqénac*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Sqáqe*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEδ Bellacoola NEδ

852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[194] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *nusek*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[554] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nuxáxkmy* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nuxáxkmy* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nuxáxkmy* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

Lib McDermith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB McDermith NEB

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nusqûlz*[a]

*534

In the beginning of time there came down from *Nuxmit·a* to *Nusqûlz* a man whose name was *Kimtîlong*[b]. As a present from *Nuxmit·a* he had brought with him a model of *Nuxmit·a*, which he set up on this earth and to which he gave the same name. This was after the first sun[c] sky, had fallen; it was from this catastrophe that *Kimtîlong*[b] derived his name.

Kimtîlong[b] had seen at the mouth of *Nuxmit·a* the face of a grizzly bear, in consequence of which he used that animal for all his decorations. His blankets, food boxes, spoons, all were adorned with grizzly bear designs; the door of his house, *Nuxmit·a*, was the mouth of one which opened to admit a guest, and closed when he had entered. The dwelling, which lengthened of its own accord whenever *Kimtîlong*[b] gave a particular, ordered for generations.[d] Before the door there lay on his back a man, *Xa'xkwa*, with a huge stomach on which anyone entering the house had to step; a slave or commoner did so without audible noise, but when a mighty chief trod on *Xa'xkwa* his weight drew forth a groan from the resentful man.[e] Any chief entering gave to *Kimtîlong*[b] a slave, a canoe, or a copper, "to open the door," otherwise the mouth of the grizzly bear would snap shut and kill him.

Kimtîlong[b] was powerful enough to give many potlatches, when planning one, he began his preparations early in the spring for the following winter. First he brushed his canoe before his house, smeared its grizzly bear nose with urine, and beat upon it with evergreen boughs. This was a signal that he proposed to go on a raiding expedition, and his fellow villagers were always glad to follow him. His forays were always successful due to his own power and because he took care when nearing his destination to send forward a scouting party to determine the number of hostile houses and decide how many attackers should be allotted to deal with each. On one occasion he attacked the Fort Rupert people and captured a woman of chief's rank, who begged him not to enslave her, promising him her name, *Wî'nasa-alasla* or *Kwala*. He agreed to her request and she tied a long leather line around her neck and told the other women to grasp it; those who did so were spared. In the same attack *Kimtîlong*[b] made use of a Fort Rupert slave whom he bribed to

[a] Related by Mrs. Willie Black. In this myth are included many fictions of a period later than that of the legend itself, but regarded by the informant as being strictly dependent upon it.

[b] The father of a woman, about fifty years old in 1923, is said to have seen the native paint when a young man.

[c] The important chief is always said to be "heavy" by virtue of the goods he has given away, and this expresses graphically the style of thought.

[555]

S.Mc.Dermott B-1 (1922-1924) 1948
MSS Bellacoola 2/23
Bellabella MSS

Bc
* 534.
BA
[534]

ORIGIN OF A SPIRIT DANCE SONG*

In the beginning *Ayaxnis* went down to *Smoyak*, a point east of Kwatna, two men with their respective wives. The men's names were *Tlimaqkuna* and *Lagemenets*, and those of the women, *Kaiks*[a] and *Nimaxa*.

ORIGIN SONG OF HOUSEHOLD GOD*

In the beginning there came down to *Qaaqaas*, on Salmon Bay, a woman whose name was *Nimaxa*. On the shore of a lake near there she became a shaman, through a vision of which the details are lost. To obtain the continued goodwill of the power residing in the lake *Nimaxa* was wont to throw upon the water eagle down and hyal cedar-bark, and sing this song when casting patterns. One day when she was singing, she was overheard by *Tsaxtsaxalis*, *Kaxlaus*, *Wiwas*, *Qaaqaasis*, *Kaiks*, and *Wiis*, who had come to earth at the Dean River, Kimsquit, and were travelling by canoe, looking for a suitable place to settle. The four first named were brothers, the remaining two their sisters. Attracted by the song the six landed and ultimately chose *Qaaqaas* as their abode, where they lived amicably with the powerful *Nimaxa*. In this they were fortunate, for she was so tragically enlivened that she had success in whatever she undertook.

Tsaxtsaxalis and his brothers built a large house of the kelp which grew abundantly in the vicinity. In course of time they were able to call people from far and near to a potlatch, at which a whale roasted grease down through the smoke vent on to the central fire causing it to blaze brightly, much to the amazement of the guests.

Bc
[534]
534

Since that time, whenever the owner of the name *Tsaxtsaxalis* has given a potlatch, carpenters have prepared for him a wooden whale which roasts grease on to the fire, a jealously preserved prerogative.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Qaltsalis*[a]

In the beginning, *Ayaxnis* went down *Kaltlas* with a family to *Qaltsalis*, near a lake in the country now occupied by the Carrier Indians. *Kaltlas* brought with him a sack containing the model of a house which, when he set it on the ground, expanded without visible cause into a fine, large dwelling. In front of it there was a towering totem-pole surmounted by an owl.

---

*Related by Snaxaxlaus Annie.
*Related by Snaxaxlaus Annie.
*Related by Mrs. Willie Hauk.

Berkeley NES

BC
534
BB
534

Now then, as soon as the [illegible] had come to an end, the [illegible] got up from the ground before him. He took the fan from the stomach of a [illegible] and carried it to his father, who had settled some distance away, to prove that he had had success in his hunting. Then returned to the place where he had been abandoned.

That morning, still in bed, he went to the edge of the house where he stood looking away from the site of the settlement, as he supposed being had interrupted him, and prayed to Almighty for bones. After praying he looked around and found two large buildings standing on the spot, on the first set an eagle, on the second a kingfisher, on the third a gull, and on the fourth an owl. The eagle-ornament, an eagle are accustomed to do in the early morning, and at once the house on which I am now filled with all manner of goods, including bones concerning the large ones-shaped whistles such as are used for ngoli ceremonials. During the day the kingfisher carried, the gull called, the owl hooted, and at each entered to see the house on which I am now filled with all kinds of goods, foods, skins, blankets, and household utensils. With the whistles he acquired Mbwa gave a potlatch to which he summoned the people from far and near. The whistles sounded, imitating the voices of the four birds which had sat on the buildings and through the eyes of which they had been filled. The Bulu Bulu dead, Wiyanyambe, covered his head with his blanket because he had nothing to equal the display, so Mbwa gave him a whistle with to [illegible]. All the guests were witnesses of the transaction, and it was in this way that the ngoli ceremonial reached Bulu Bulu.

Mbwa lived to a great age, and during his lifetime moved to several places, in each of which he gave potlatches. His last stopping-place was Kumbili, where he held the largest one, erecting for the purpose a new house with an [illegible] to hold the audience. It was there that he died.

Whenever a descendant of Mbwa gives a potlatch he erects outside his house a totem-pole on which are the four birds that brought good fortune to his ancestor.

[illegible]

In the beginning two brothers, Wialiku, Runaru Kidikidiki, Ngwadidabaru, took their sister Dibwadidiba, name to wife at Sa-ibo Island, Nidiwanaru, in the west of Fiaba. They moved to Bwaga, but often returned to their landing-place in Iwa and Awa which they would visit

[illegible] by Mrs. Malinowski

[illegible],K-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

De 934
BB
[534]
Bc
[352]
[77]

the house in imitation of Hemaqus's; since then any possessor of this ancient totem has one likewise. From that time Hemaqus has been a common Bella Bella totem, and is always shown with his huge hat.

The narrator claimed this myth through the marriage of his mother's mother with an Alley man.

[MYTH OF SEA-LION ISLAND][1]

In the beginning of time the sea lions came down to earth on an island outside Rivers Inlet where they bred and multiplied. The place is still known as Sea-Lion Island and hunters from all parts of the coast used to go there, as the animals were not only good food but easy to kill.

One man, however, was lost wandered apart from his companions and met a stranger who invited him home. He accepted and followed his host into a nearby house through he had never known before that there was one in the vicinity. Once within, the door closed with a metallic crash and the rock cavern vanished from the sight of his companions, who thought that he must have been drowned. But he had really entered a sea-lion house. The animals were sitting around their fire exactly as human beings are accustomed to do; in fact, the only strange thing was that they were only human head-caps on dishes. He listened to their conversation.

"Look over this to Hemaqus," he heard one of the animals say to a friend.

Hemaqus was an old woman who was sitting in one corner of the house.

"The dish will be too small to hold a meal," thought the mortal.

The sea-lions could understand his thoughts.

"Don't say that," said one of them. "Hemaqus has the power of making the dish sufficient."

Presently one of the beasts gave the man a horn-cup dish containing a minute morsel of oil-fish soaked in oil.

"This won't be enough for me," he thought.

But again a curious comprehension of what was in his mind. It was true. The man scarcely ate until he could eat no more, but the contents of the dish as the pieces did not diminish.

He stayed with them for several months, but at last grew homesick and lonely. The sea-lions read his unexpressed desires.

"Your home is on the coast," said one of them. "We will send you there whenever you like. You are tired of a warm, would you prefer one that will carry you in one swoop, or two, or three, or six hours?"

The man thought of the job with which he would strike the beach if

[1] Narrator, Hamilton Green.

b:Mc Dermith E-9 (922-924)948
NEX Bellacoola NEX
Bellabella. NES

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as Kiatse'a, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gee Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so covered, and laughed heavily to find her made of cotton wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they covered themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

Soon Kiatse'a returned. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that the fool burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to Kiatse'a that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from the end near where he gave a potlatch.

Animal Origin Myths

As already stated, many animal names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the animal origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a crest prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most crest rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Komōkwa* CREST, *Ḵwaxgamxʷ mythus*[28]

Many days ago, a party of *Ḵwaxʷ* Indians[29] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg on

[28] Related by Jackson Wasilis.

[29] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are also in the Cowichan, but have adopted the use of Comox-poles, Kwakiutl blankets

[illegible] B-1 (1932-1934)/968
NBS Bulletin NBS

poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself."

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practice other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to make him to hurry. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the patriarchal system and a wise parent teaches him to remember duties. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him:

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fiber may stand for a Kwaguit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a Tsimshian chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor shows the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of constructional signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and law without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will have practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a name and to partake in

[illegible] initiation ceremony, but he cannot himself carry out a ceremony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that omitted at the first discharge. A woman who has just given birth is a *nanda*; an adolescent girl, a *nyumi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully To-bound"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is bold, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. The parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of plants or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a cup-door and bolster by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and keep at the knees, never crouched nor straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greatly ill when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. The mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual sufficient food pots. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded spot back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this, she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the saliva, become blind, and die young.

For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restrictions. She may approach to the river would offend the saliva and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, as she is not allowed to draw water, or even to appear on the beach. She may not eat

bundle of four narwhal-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*, which are said to have been imported from the north in early times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural power, and yet beautiful. Many Bella Coola stories describe how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they were saved mankind when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw in the water four pieces of food, and four pieces of unlived cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

The assumption of her function indicates that a girl has reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriage for several years to demonstrate their importance, but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is over, in fact one has seen nine successively taken. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters, as to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Between the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first discharge is considered more harmful than that received on later occasions, it is always regarded as unsavory or unclean. It is

[illegible] ...posed marriage, but they always [illegible] ...n for several days. Y's parents [illegible] ...in the discussion, and Y herself [illegible] ...nfidence. Although a daughter [illegible] ...in practice she exercises a great [illegible] ...er and father weigh the suitor's [illegible] ...d to wealth and ancestral pos... [illegible] ...racter. An immoral young man [illegible] ...r is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to [illegible] ...the proposal, some one of them [illegible] ...X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, [illegible] ...ugh the news usually becomes known. [illegible] ...as soon as possible take a number of presents to Y's family. [illegible] ...ese are given in private, and are termed "secret gifts"; [illegible] ...are said to give strength to the [illegible] children. [illegible] ...persons are present it follows that [illegible] ...the transaction. The relations [illegible] ...ther X or Y are not always the [illegible] ...ents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of [illegible] ...parents, the parents alone always [illegible] ...atives take a leading part in the [illegible] ...of receiving valuable gifts, or of [illegible] ...lavish giving. If X's relatives [illegible] ...Y's family will accept their pro... [illegible] ...in company and actually carry [illegible] ...e at the time of making the first [illegible] ...oved, they merely carry away [illegible] ...has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret [illegible] gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse [illegible] ...e before this is made public. If Y's family is [illegible] ...ther, or other near relative, pro... [illegible] ...ents of the village to his house. The singers, [illegible] ...atives behind the fire, strike up the tune of [illegible] ...e owner of the song, thus warned,

1:Mc Dowell E-1 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellarosia NEA

dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *basiai* after *basiai*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the time of one *asaad* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the *sim* gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments; but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *basiai* dance,[1] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children who may result from it.

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and other intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[1] This is probably a recent innovation.

LMcDermith E-3 (1912-1924)1948
NEA Bellecosia NEA

dum, taking as inconspicuous a part as X does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X's relatives carry into Y's house a part of the goods which X's relatives have assumed for the occasion, deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y's family can accept one by picking it from the floor, but as he is expected to return the gift with something of greater value, sometimes nothing is taken. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y's father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X's father gives to some strong youth narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the young man runs up and down the sidewalk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips into the air, away from himself. All the younger people of the village pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the running is done in a clear space near Y's house. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from this sport, since it is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. Should Y have the right to ask any dancer for his clothing, and unless he is willing to lose this, he must give a present to the one who has demanded it. This is a common source of amusement to the onlookers. Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the lowlife should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done," the Bella Coola say simply.

When the scene has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to perform. Y's father then sends out one of his male relatives, with gifts, "to stop the dance." The latter gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then

thus learn that she has done acts of merit, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[1]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight merit. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the connection. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

MARRIAGE LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this provincial residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ essentially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a satisfactory adjustment is found in the mutual respect for each other's economy, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's family resources. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of extreme rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but paternal affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

[1] The head and at the reverse are preserved in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

[illegible] attached. They grow up in the open environment of the house, absorbing most of their lore by watching and listening than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Names are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their parents-in-law.

The obligation of presents-giving does not stop with the marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a burial dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the women loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overwrought through the necessity of providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any ceremonial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

The concept of mutual help between families who have intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1900 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

as a game was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the sexual code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to sanction the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. Pulte, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven; the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be known, the number of the sexes seems always to have been almost equal, in itself a check to polygamy in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygamy was made possible only through the surplus of women thus created. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

L:McGeveith E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NES Bellacoola NES

885 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to
596 more, while the case of *Pathe* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

585 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is
571 said that disputes were frequent. *Pathe* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

595 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of
183 a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands
626 between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that
595 the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unex-
582 pectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was then considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

[illegible] Dorsett E-5 (922-1124)[illegible]
NEA Bellacoola NEA

with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several economic families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life.

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwaxsta*" people near Newitta. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view.

CONSECUTIVE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the

Swanton B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the first-born parent, and no effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served as antidotes, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unrevealed offspring of a slave and a free man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPUDIATION OF THE WIFE

Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

Lib Dartmouth H-S (9512-19143)948
NEA Bellacoola NES

556 ● 583

gests given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to redeem her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife.

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

425 556 583

On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kwixa'* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *nusnā* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Pasha'* was able to import *nusnā* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the

[553]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

552 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[606] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

[554] (4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children, either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. [556] [583] [571]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Alqaatăm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yutsak*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stăltumy*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. [551] [556] [583] [554] [562] [553] [556] [583]

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

LibMcDowall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bella coola NEG

553 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or
556 one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's
583 family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Lälăkt*, *Xwulkw*, *Smaiw-a*, and *Ailxamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made:

"Y's belt has come to ransom her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after accruing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's arms has come to ransom her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Swalk'ai* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they ransom one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is:

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last utterance is that the village of *Swalk'ai* is furthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them.

After announcing the various relatives who have ransomed Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created

her husband's estate by taking this name for herself when she relinquished herself from him.

Ne-mo, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this appellation owing to his wife's manners, as she advertised what had been said about him.

Ngahhi-ahhihi, "Unendingly Dead." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear when she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law condemned her by taking it as her own name.

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created.

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X borrows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *nomd* or *basiat*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *nomd*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said:

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

555 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
581 feet."
[584] When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

583 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
554 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
581 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Thus it is that these first transmitted can be received by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the
[582] few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

[584] About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

S/RR/Bellacoola, B.C. 1922-1924/1948
RBA Bellacoola RBA

looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she demanded $300 to buy ex-husband to others herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In fact the custom prevails of depicting on the walls the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation on any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband in a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

556 583 578 602

A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer his greatest insults to his wife's relatives then continue to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

About 1880 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of ceremony, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have brought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the crowd. The father of the dead woman came forward unsolicited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not existed for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the dower of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

968 [582]

Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The decease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

One very old man is still, 1913, commonly called by this last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

*A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

the sexual side neglected, it is perhaps not surprising that the Kalia Coola carry out a ceremonial form entirely disconnected from marital rights. It is believed that such ceremonial marriages were performed by the first inhabitants of this earth, and that they have been customary ever since. A careful father or uncle always endeavours to arrange such a rite for a girl when she is two or three years of age. The relatives decide on some influential chief whom they would like to have as their daughter's fictitious husband, considering his wealth and prestige, but not his age. They interview the proposed bridegroom, who may consult his wife or other relatives before accepting, although he rarely refuses, as that would be an insult to the petitioners as well as a financial loss to himself. No period of engagement is necessary, as the wedding is arranged for the near future. Among important chiefs the ritual is identical with that of real marriage, though usually it is somewhat curtailed. The relatives of the bride welcome her husband and his relatives in their house and receive from him rather larger presents than they give; the same remark is made about it being the proper time to take the bride to her new home, and the husband and his party depart, without the girl. Presents of canoes or prerogatives may likewise be transmitted. The two are now considered as married, although there is no necessity for husband and wife even to see one another; on the other hand, there is no reason for avoidance since the marriage is essentially a business affair and not a sexual one. Whenever the husband gives a potlatch or other ceremony, he is assisted by the relatives of his fictitious wife, sometimes to a greater extent than by the relatives of his real one. This ceremonial wedlock may last for three or four years, until the relatives of the wife ransom her from her husband. On this occasion it is essential that he receive from the relations of his fictitious wife presents of greater value than he himself has given, otherwise she would be disgraced. Ceremonial marriage differs from real marriage in that one repurchasing terminates

[554] [illegible], although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the wife grows up, married, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[555] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

, Coola were be- 518
ful whether the 556
the fact had not
ow the wife is
husband or her

d out for special
feels that he is
the names and
ones avenges to
ection by cere-
latives to one of
acquired names
ically arranged.
father of many
father-in-law has
onstrated his
between the old
It often happens
stance, confident
often settled by a [627]
ner and with the
bed. Sometimes
of a chief, instead
ck follows.
rl to act as bride.
to a famous chief
rriage rite with a
other part of the
ourite dog, which
onial marriage is
he Bella Coola to
tial chief; it pro-
he wealth of the
girl and her rela-
"she" is an inani-

Lib. Dorsey E-1 [1922-1924] 1948
BEB DeGarmo BEB

588 556 more object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to [551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the lucky has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 608 858 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held."

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will.

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men.

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually

to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with soaked cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught in unusual surroundings. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at *hamat* dances, there appears always to have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti-social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth

and influence may have won for him. One or two instances are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the absence of professional prostitution, it is difficult to explain the wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of these bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (1) the desire for wealth; (2) the influence of strong liquor; (3) the lure of a strange environment; (4) the attraction of the white man, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth.

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or oolachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

McDougall B-5 (922-1024)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

the hole in the *roof*, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the *roof*, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out:

575 766

"*Ye-*," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *sisaok* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the *roof* boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *sisaok* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse.

[552]

[537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *sisaok* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *sisaok*. On the other hand, those who do not

575 766 781

Sapir, E. (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE IX

342
532
556
211

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[4 442 (H)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

965 Indeed, a grave is never
[989] disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[761] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case, the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[964] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and hoeing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[984] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
431 in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
556 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
[614] indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *nusuk* dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sk'ana*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE6

one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nuxmăt-a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,[a] is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nuxmăt-a*. This belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alquntăm* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial potlatch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[a] It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by anthropomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

I:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants.

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *oläl*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Oläl*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck.

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *nusuk* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola, NE6

Nīnitxwdaia, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Awaxtidzem, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nawaxwaxdzem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Awaxhāmaxs, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Naxlāxtawidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sxūsxū. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman. [825] [533]

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives peesents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized. [553] [554]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 756 * 787 [553] [554] that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise at once to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social esteem which would have been his if he had at once displayed his prowess, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition, [755] is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then puffing this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a trail of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. About a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 756 * 787 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman, *Nitsmdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Tlitcăplilăn-a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and [292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's [553] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic [552] name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar [292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a [84] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *kusiut* dance season when the coming to him of a *yex* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yex*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

955 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

[177]

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many
756 shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some
787 feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Thitcăplilăn-a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
* 756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
787 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 956 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.[1] A herald is sent out

[1] Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

In McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the name of the shaman. After such announcement, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[1] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[1] This fast beating of time is called *ahk*; it occurs only in shaman and *nusuit* dances.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter.

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger.

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed.

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites:

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436).

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192).

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106).

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans.

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob-

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *lsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai*," uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[6]

[6] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

branches, and again threw the stone. This time the man was able to hurl it back the full distance.

The washing had made him strong as a grizzly bear, lithe and handsome, and had also given him the ability to see supernatural beings when concealed from the eyes of ordinary mortals. This last accomplishment was due to his having been made so clean by the expulsion of all the filth from his body that the supernatural ones had no aversion to being seen by him. After the cleansing, the man returned to his village, where he soon entered into an argument with two of the people who had been unkind to him. They quarrelled and the man seized his enemies and pulled their arms from their bodies. The parents of the injured men were angry and wished to take revenge on the assailant, but were prevented by friends who pointed out that the punishment given to their sons was well warranted.

THE LAD WHO VISITED THE HOME OF THE FISH

Long, long ago, there lived a lad who was so poor that all he had for clothing was a rough goat-skin blanket. He was so miserable and friendless that he made up his mind to commit suicide. The ice was breaking in the Bella Coola River at the time, and large cakes were floating down to the sea. The lad leaped out upon one block, then sprang to another, and finally into a clear patch of water. Associates seeking to dissuade him had followed him from one cake of ice to another, but they drew back when he plunged into the cold water.

The youth was not drowned. He found a road under the water which led him to the land of the herring; then, still following the path, he passed in succession the countries of the olachen, the steel-head salmon, the spring salmon, the sockeye salmon, the hump-back salmon, the dog salmon, and lastly the cohoe. Each kind of fish dwelt in its own country, the cohoe salmon, being the last to reach the Bella Coola River, living at the greatest distance from it. Not long after his arrival in the land of the fish, the salmon boat, *Nedkyum*, left for Bella Coola and on it the youth returned home. Owing to this experience he became in time both wealthy and famous.

THE SUCCESSFUL SEALER

Long, long ago, a man living at *Sunel* failed to display the generosity expected of him as a chief. He showed no initiative or pride, accepting what was given him without demur, and doing nothing to uphold the dignity of his ancestral home. Whenever a feast was given, this man's share was thrown down so clumsily before him that he was spattered with the food, but he was too lethargic even to show resentment. His four

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

sons, of whom the eldest was about sixteen, though old enough to appreciate the slights put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of these lads felt impelled to follow a trail down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to doze on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he presently heard the hoarse breathing of sleeping seals. His hunting desires aroused, he went to the edge of the steep crag overlooking the sea and dived in. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last gasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Waiting only a moment, and without disturbing the animals, he dived back through the passage safely.

When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen, but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with this carpentry task, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon-head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the spoil that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, born that year, with which he returned to the canoe. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad sent a herald to invite not only

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the people of his own village but those of two neighbouring towns. All accepted, as is customary, irrespective of the amount of food. The carcass was cut up and the guests received such minute portions that they became wildly hilarious over the meagre fare provided and flung many insulting remarks at their host. This was what the lad had planned. Confident of his ability to establish his good name, he desired to make his resurgence more striking by first emphasizing his degradation.

Next day the father and son again went hunting, and this time the lad killed a seal of slightly larger size. Once more he called in his neighbours and again they made sarcastic remarks about his poverty. The succeeding day he killed one large seal, and summoned the people. Next day he slew two seals; the next, four; then eight, sixteen, and thirty-two on successive days. Each evening a feast was held and the booty distributed. By this time contempt and scorn had been replaced by respectful wonder, and when the hunter returned with his canoe filled with seals everyone was able to eat to repletion. There was a surfeit of the highly esteemed flesh.

The next day the lad brought back his canoe filled with seals, and the same night the people gathered for the usual feast. Now was the time for which the youth had been waiting. When the carcasses had been cut up and cooked, ready for distribution, he made a speech, reminding those present of the manner in which his parents had been "dirtied," by food thrown at them during feasts, and how they had never actively resented it. Then he intimated that he was about to retaliate. Starting with the chiefs at the upper end of the house, he threw pieces of cooked seal at his guests, nor did he desist until the faces and chests of all had been well spattered with the grease. The people, realizing that it was their own rudeness which was being returned to them, could not defend themselves.

The successful sealer had had a second quantity of seal meat cooked in readiness, which he now distributed to his ruffled guests in a gracious manner. In this way he was able to refurbish the prestige of his family. By his lavish donations of seal meat on many occasions, he gained a reputation for generosity which was envied by all.[1]

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck

The *Mätsqus*

Not many years ago two men were canoeing up the Kimsquit River. As one of them pressed down with his pole he saw that it had grazed a

[1] It is not clear whether or not this story should, strictly speaking, be included in this category. Such a sudden stroke of fortune is termed a *suʔaxaläm*. It seemed as if the seals themselves had given their lives to this lad in his misfortune.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alt* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Lomqo-ts*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Tăl-io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsĕsia*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, ɔmâtuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *ɬuɬusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ăwa'ɬkwɔlsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *ɬuɬusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself that he is different from lesser mortals.

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *kax*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutsk*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qotlum* and *nekusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they [425]
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [553]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [533]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the 556
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without [264]
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists [292]
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in [184]
Staur and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages [237]
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ăly'-ll*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a novice and cannot give a dance[59] until the next ceremonial season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[60] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

[59] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[60] This prohibition was once broken at *Kemgas*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the tests at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Ilsaid*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was peace before the infraction became known.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

THE DANCE OF *Wɬ·a*

*575 *796 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noāk̓num* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noāk̓num* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with a *wɬ·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It [424] is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcimotl* the owner is a certain *Ɬukwala*,[30] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nunuxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Älquntäm* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers [774] *Xemxemälotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqamkilka*, *Aimälotla*, *Aiamkilka*, *Qomcua*, *Qulaxwoa*, *Kulilias Nuskämpta*, *Älmäk*[31], and their sister *Tlitcäplilän·a*.[31] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmät·a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Tlitcäplilän·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* *575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is *796 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

[30] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1912; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[31] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Dance of Wil·a]

lieve the thud on the roof, which is made by an accomplice, is the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests other than Kimsquit or *Täl·io kukusiut*. One is tempted to conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show a disposition to linger too long.

The call having come to X, this is the day of *Isuxtämem*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching.

The theme is always of the supernatural patrons and how the offering attracts them. Since only *kukusiut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.[46] The singers beat out and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practising, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *kukusiut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night of *Isuxtämem* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other

[46] Even when no uninitiated are present, the *kukusiut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which ultimately affects themselves.

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *796 *575 *796 556 [776] [787] *575 *796 787 [126]

I···, and *ao*···,[41] revolving sunwise at the same time. *Ano°likwolsaix* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Ano°likwolsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukusiut* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kusiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kusiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kusiut* patrons and *ɬsaok* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any connection necessary; in fact, X usually obtains his call like any other *kusiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the night preceding that chosen, the *kukusiut* are called to X's house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukusiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

[41] A phonographic record was made of this; National Museum of Canada, record VII D 6b; singer, Jim Pollard.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *kukusiut*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *qotlim* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *kusiut* throws cold water over him. Any senior *kusiut*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *kukusiut* eat in comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place.

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *kukusiut* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation.

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *kusiut* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

* 575 * 796 • 556 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut* to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *lilstom*. The essence of this is *575 * 796 787 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the *nebusam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Älquntäm*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers [533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for [532] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the fol- [776] lowing supernatural beings:

Älquntäm, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Älqotlcos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Älläpaios*, "Holders," who restrain *Älqotlcos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Ano°likwolsaix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 796*

The *kusiotem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lsɯxtämem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutälsap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *hoip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. [482] The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kusiotem*, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. [424] [556] Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nebusam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Älquntäm*, his messenger *Oqolikts Älquntäm*, and, especially *Kulslkäkmidjut*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. [776] It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän·a* has restored him. [787] X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one termed *Ałmutsämk* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Ałmutsämk* means *staqam*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Qoxolän·i* of *Tcmotł* and *Saixnäs* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sänołłxmułełts Ałquntäm*, but that of *Saixnäs* is *Kokostxm*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 *kukusiut* who listen as usual to words of advice from the marshals.

X retires once more to his enclosure and throughout the night the sound of his rattling apron can be heard. Here he remains for four more days, except when making his round of the village twice daily, or when attending the ceremony of another *kusiut*. When a *qothm* comes, X does not immediately put in an appearance, but waits until all other *kukusiut* have taken their places. Someone asks where X is, and a herald is sent specially for him. He enters, and proceeds at once to the left corner behind the fire where he stands throughout all the dances, moving his feet as if marking time to the music, but not altering his position. When all have danced, both *kukusiut* and uninitiated are invited to guess X's secret, and answers pour in rapidly. X heightens the interest by pretending that someone has almost solved it before *Ânuyulikailaix* "pulled back his thoughts," as the Bella Coola express it. He finally passes sunwise around the fire and returns home.

On the evening of the fourth day after the *kukusiut* were invited to X's house, they are summoned there once more. First they learn a new song, composed for the occasion, then, as before, the uninitiated are called in and everyone tries to guess the three hiding places. This is followed by the same elaborate feast. Henceforth the *kukusiut* are called to X's house on every fourth evening, and a new song is composed and food distributed on every occasion. X makes two rounds of the village daily, and attends the *qothm* of every *kusiut*. This succession of dances may continue for a month or six weeks; [556] in fact, the deciding factor is usually X's desire to distribute no more food. In former times it is probable that the necessity for an emaciation-producing diet was an important consideration in choosing when to conclude the dance.

The time finally comes when X or his family wants the riddle answered. The marshals discuss the matter on the evening preceding one of the regular gatherings of the *kukusiut* in X's house. Two important points must be settled. First,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 masks representing the three successful answers. Little attention is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their initiative to a considerable extent.[12] One mask always made is that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Älquntäm*. As far as could be learnt, if *Älquntäm* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutälsap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nebusam* must be postponed, and *qotlim* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

[12] Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of the Otter]

*575 *796 below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. About noon on *nebusam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *kusiut* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *kukusiut* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *kusiut* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *kukusiut* women drone. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from [556] the dummy and often dampens several of the *kukusiut*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *nebusam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

THE OCTOPUS DANCE

*575 *796 424 551 778 In the beginning of time *Sinuxelt* of Kimsquit married a Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *kusiut*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Octopus Dance]

*575 *796 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsuxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qotlum*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus. [532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance [431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. [556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 *796 424 [776] [778] One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stcqwastlustkwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[100] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance, X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

[776] [787] *575 *796

[100] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 *B* *Ämuntskayaikipk^{w}lsai* | *aiyatcistänakasals* | *aiyaskätcaiyänmakas*
Count how many times will distribute | my mother, | how many times

älakätsaämkisals | *Wikäsinutcgmikas* | *dilisuts-amatimdai*
she will scatter [presents]. | Will hide [the guests]. | our returning food and goods(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 45b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1915.
(*b*) Meaning: The guests.
(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.
[556] (*d*) One of the dancer's first ancestors. It is not claimed that *Älqnulils* actually brought to earth the goods which his descendant is about to distribute, but the wording is ostentatiously bashful as if the dancer were unwilling to claim the honour.
(*e*) That is: The food and goods which we are about to give in return for previous donations will entirely overwhelm our guests.

Song Used for Wäkas of Kimsquit(a)

A *uxupälläxwaiya* | *Dikilläxmsdai* | *disiusälsdai*
Clear the way! | Is coming down for me | my supernatural being(*b*).

Däläqumndumsdai | *sikpuspusas* | *älxwoldjäntals*
It bears | what goes | to those who sing(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Stiqwiutxamlip* | *sisg^{w}ilalläkap* | *dimänäkasdja* | *Änudodjetik*
Do not insult | you have less than | my father(*d*). | Always is increasing

watqändus | *was-ulla-kasts(e)*
my box(*f*) | in my house(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 43b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This song was used at a potlatch. Those used on such occasions were practised carefully and are accordingly the best remembered at the present time.
(*c*) That is: It bears presents for those who sing and assist the ceremony in any way.
(*d*) That is: Do not pride yourselves on equalling my father, he is greater than any of you.
(*e*) When this song was being sung for the phonograph, this subdivision was temporarily forgotten and replaced by a repetition of the third division of the second part.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ɣmuɬmāltxmanuɣɛt	*aiyamaseyo·nɣwals*	533*
he circled and returned	*Sang*ʷ.	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(*c*) A reference to *Wīnat*, one of *Sinuɣɛl*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song(a) Used by Qwoyusditxas of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyumsamālxan*	*di stāhaimpdai*	*hailβainuxilt*	2
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get	

aiyadilāhlalsdai
my copper.

(*a*) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song Used by Sinuɣɛl of Kimsquit(a)

A Sānuzilkgomoslxandai	*yao (b) diɬxotcaiyailtumdai*	*Oldiɬxaltmitlāxandai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

sewās qomcwadja
the food of white men(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Literally: *Hello!*
(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *ɬɬaok* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533*

(*b*) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(*c*) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(*d*) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(*e*) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqwal* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(*f*) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(*g*) That is: He, too, was a *nusqwal*. [576]

(*h*) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived.

(*i*) That is: In virtue of my *nusqwal* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

Nusqwal Song Used for Ḵwixlakilkʷ, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Tukɛsdjidjsdumalnuwit	*yaḵwixlakilkwɛsudai*	*ska'ɛnutsɛyɛnmixwaìs*	
Please do not sleep,	Ḵwixlakilkʷ(*b*),	listen to your	

sɛwaḵoptɛnuswaìs
drums(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sɛnanmaadjɛmadu	*inuyaiyatuwikaìs*	*ɛltalɛmstaḵailxandai*	
I alone	am content(*d*);	is increasing	

aiyadisputiwatsdai
my prerogative(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) It is not uncommon in *nɛɛak* and *a'alk* songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(*c*) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(*d*) The dancer is deriding another *nusqwal* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(*e*) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific references to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqwal(a)

A Dipa-wɛ	*ḵaḵɛlxlaix*	*dastɛlxmɛwɛt*	*distɛnt*
That is he,	the impostor,	the chief	of the paddle(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

newly composed whenever required, though in recent years old ones have occasionally been re-used owing to lack of ability on the part of the singers. The following songs have been arranged in the same order as the descriptions of the *kusiut* dances at which they were employed.

Song Used for Anuxpuxun-oix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Sewaxkmaiyakwuxs | *waxtlpwaxtsaiyakwus* | *akaxpuxstwulwaljuda*
Everything(b) | shook slightly(c) | when he came(d)

xkamalixpalyuxs
to the first point.

[WOODLAND CROAK]

B Skamakhlpailailaxs | *tlalwuxspakwaiyaixuxs*
Have made up their minds | the calendrical experts(e);

xinupwaxamdimuxtaxuxs | *xuxlpaxlaxlupuxs*
they have curtailed | through their greed(f).

[WOODLAND CROAK]

C Nuxupxaxtxlaiyaiyuxqe | *yax dixuqalaixukxidai* | *yax diuxuxuxaka*
Constantly refills | water(g) | the dishes

dixuxalliyuxuxqudai
which elevate him(h).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 46a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.
(b) This is a reference to *Sung*^{wa}.
(c) This is a grandiloquent expression, such as are common in *kusiut* songs.
(d) Referring to *Nuxkyuxm*, the dancer's patron.
(e) That is: The calendrical experts have come to an agreement.
(f) That is: They have abbreviated the period of waiting owing to their greed. This song was used by the *kukusiut* at one of their gatherings during *Nuxkyuxm*'s approach. At Kimsquit no uninitiated were present on such occasions so it was possible to indulge in comments without betraying the secrets of the society. The significance here is that the experts were so greedy to share in the food that they agreed to say that *Nuxkyuxm* had arrived before his proper time.
(g) That is: Water constantly re-fills. By *water* is meant food and mountain goat grease.
(h) That is: The dishes of which the contents, when distributed, increase his status.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(a) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*
(b) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *hxaiat* season of 1933-4 at the initiation of *Lilitsawalaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Xemtsaltwala*. [776]
(c) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]
(d) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.
(e) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.
(f) Referring to the dead *Xemtsaltwala*.
(g) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nuxalait*, one of the dead man's crests.
(h) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]
(i) One of *Xemtsaltwala's* names.
(j) This is another name for *Nuxalait*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Xemtsaltwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nuxalait*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love; others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B. [796]* [825]

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 882 424

[See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 547 - ANALYST]

21 McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
• [556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
[486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was
[627] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuix* and *Alqâlâxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tâl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne-awunkai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realise that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers, who now began to beat out time for *Tsibas* to perform a *xuaek* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Patlu* likewise performed a *xuaek* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tsibas* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tsibas* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tsibas left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tsibas* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tsibas* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Patlu* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Ompa*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tsibas*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Patlu*'s *xuaek* songs. On hearing this, *Tsibas* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Patlu*'s, *Tsibas* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Ompa* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsibas*'s

[i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B T 648 556 374

dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were *hasiut* in Bella Coola, while three had Bella Bella rights as well; *Trahoa* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninitiated. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xemoemäiuta*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Trahoa*'s wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Nemqaix* where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canoes of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Patlas* finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Patlas* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Trahoa* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

B T 648 721

This exchange of hospitality virtually ended all hostility, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitlobe to prepare olachen grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Trahoa*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been recounted, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Matsa-a*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the *hasiut* society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Matsa-a*'s luck was amazing and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, *Trahoa*'s nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B C 648 726

the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal; then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the drowsing enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. Not one of the raiders escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a *xaaxê* song.

B C 648 721

The following unrelated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1860, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nexâ'alt*. Their chief was a certain *Ḵ'emtâlem* who was distantly related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many coho and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the roaring torrent. A *Nexâ'alt* man, *Ḵ'elwelîlt*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but his bad-tempered wife urged him to get her some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. A drifting log struck his canoe; he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. *Ḵ'elwelîlt* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

B [554] [754]

As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Nexâ'alt*, where a certain *Nûnâl* had become wealthy. He was a good carpenter, and his riches had been amassed as rewards for making *Xaaiaa* masks, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached *Ḵ'emtâlem* and said that he believed *Nûnâl* was responsible

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

for *Xelxwaliotl*'s death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning. *Xīmālxem* was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, determined to kill *Nūnāl* in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carrier chief entered his house and thrust a musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. *Nūnāl* quickly knocked down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his hips. *Xīmālxem* made no attempt to run away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless virtually driven to it. News of the assault spread down the valley, and two of *Nūnāl*'s nephews, *Tsā·kmai* and *Oqmikmq*, went up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both validated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During this time, the evil *Nuxalxt* man had been working on *Xīmālxem*'s fears by telling him that *Nūnāl* was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that one musket and both cartridge boards were lost. This seemed to *Xīmālxem* the chance for which he had been waiting: he fired from the bank and *Nūnāl* fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well as the *Nuxalxt* people.

If *Tsā·kmai* and *Oqmikmq* had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream but, being duly validated men of valour, this course never occurred to them.[14] *Oqmikmq*, who had one charge left in his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"*Nūnāl* is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile *Xīmālxem* had remained on the bank, laughing at the two warriors. *Oqmikmq* told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carriers began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other:

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our characters today. If we are to die, let us die."

[14] The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that confirmed warriors could never run away; when questioned further, he emphasized that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to flee from danger.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] Many of the first type describe the adventures and mis-
[776] adventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

*534

Raven Stories

How Raven became black

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Ălqnăsĭm* told *Măxăxălĭtsĕk* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ălqnăsĭm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

Raven and Water Ouzel[3]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought

[3] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

105 182 [626] of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to [556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is [602] unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of [556] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 [161] [361] The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

Älälkmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Noäkgmm.*

älälqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Älhlxän·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Älhlxän·iatliax: One of the first women to settle at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.

äldinkl: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *lnxämem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

älikslxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

äljkwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Älilxwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuxx* man.

äliliq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

älilmusmm: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Älimalwalaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Äl·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time. [585]

älipaxlis, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

älipoalım: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

älipotläm: Marshal.

Älimän·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximlt.*

Älixmotusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tcnisi* in the beginning of time.

Äl·slkstl: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuxx* in the beginning of time.

ähhbstl: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ähly: *Sisaok* song in fast time.

ähl: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [533] [535]

Ähl'gmän·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sätlis* in the beginning of time.

ähmpus: *Kusiut* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ähnkla: Synonym for *knumdjut*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ähnlla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ähx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Älkxna: 1—One of *Smooan's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.

älpä'ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

älkidjalas: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Älkhamläkn: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

älkiuhmm: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Älkn·lgumm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*
[805]

uxsiut, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
uyuyuyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Älqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Suyook* name of a Kimsquit man.
uhilulăk: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ulsämämmimm: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
uxaiăk': Synonym for *spuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
uxaxmxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
uxem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [827]
uxiax: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *łiakwilk* is problematical.
uxlqolam: One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time. [825]
uyälliwatem'xiamut-al-at': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
uyu-ahälawadjutlaix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
uzbekuts: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up. [556]
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
uzäxhmkq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
uzkwaa·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
uzlokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
uzlqotlamsqwaxdjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
uzmukwaalsaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
uzmutlxămlaix: Supernatural name of *sxiutl*.
uzquntăm, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Älquntăm* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
uzliktmosaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smoaan* in the beginning of time.
uzwapkăsdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
uzwal·a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
uzwimxala: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
uz-wnaisa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
uzyälyatsaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smoaan* in the beginning of time.
uzyăkum, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snulsli* and *Tăl·io*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiusdiăs: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakamiit: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kakas: Crow. [825]
Kakathu: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

 192*

Łăliaxta: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Łăhaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuix* story of the beginning of time.
Łălläliămdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.
Łăloxmăx·a: *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.
łălăs·i: Small portable canoe.
łălstum: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
Łăxosmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łaḥmtmakgwaa: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusăxkămy.*
Łaknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
Łilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaoan* for his son in the beginning of time.
łima: To loot.
Łixlixkilkla: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
łixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
łddła: Bull-roarer.
łdł: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm,* is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmitl: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
Łmolim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
Łmoliz di Nusăxkămy, "The Potlatch of the *nusăxkămy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
Łkumkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukils* in the beginning of time.
łkuluwădjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łkumkskta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmănkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmănxłmtim: The turning over of a mountain.
Ło'yo: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łqomkskta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]
łqoa: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]
'Łsmdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Satlis* in the beginning of time.
Łstqwam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
łuklai: Aversion.
Łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsimotl* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łullułmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
Łulqwax·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
Łułukwałnmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tlitcplilăx·a,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*192 *nā'ɬlu:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nā·tci:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nāxam: To dance.
[825] *nāxamda:* Those who dance at marriages.
nāxinx: Mallard duck.
[824] *nāxmaxmum:* Night of potlatch on which *sisaok* initiates appear for a short dance.
naxski: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nəbixakta:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'namlānkaix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Namutsta: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Namulsta: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nāx·wtān·a: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne·xlo·s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne·xwnkai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] *Nəbxullāhaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nəbuxam:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nəqaqa: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nexnk, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nexnāxam: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nexnāx·mālosaix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Ɬlitcaplilān·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nexnxtiwalaix: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuxalxt* man.
niamlamtām: One who has preserved a marriage song.
niaxwālemsk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Niallallaix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
[524] *niɬq'cɬl:* Wooden ring used in a game.
Niltcks: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nikyaya':* Otter.
Ninilānk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Ninitsamlaix: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Ɬlitcaplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nitsam,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nitsmdimut: Shaman's name derived from *Ɬlitcaplilān·a.*
nitstominu: "I have saved you."

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Nukáɬnkam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nukáɬco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuɬaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nukɔlomskʼ: Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
Nukiadji: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
nukila·xta: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nukiis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nukokwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Nuliɬumutl di mnkʼ, "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nulálumtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noáxmm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
nuleɣm: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nuliliɣolánk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nulixwemankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tál·io* in the beginning of time.
nulmkmánkdas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nulkmákdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmkmánkdas.*
nulmáxtmax: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nulolostnik·esta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nɔsɔk* head-dress.
nulɬ: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalálit* or *nɔiutl.*
Nuɬɣánlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.
nuɬɣunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nuɬɣwátas: House-posts nearest to front door.
nultnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
nullɔmánumtnum, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nulxodjim: Cry uttered by a *nɔsɔk* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nɔsɔk* novices.
nulxinɣailaix: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nɔsɔk* novice.
nulxwálkals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
numálkals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Numdm·ut, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*192
Nusnāmngkt: Area around a spring near *Nuitaux.*
[198] *nusmista:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nusmista: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Nusp!kunsta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuspuxta Smaiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nusqāps: Skeena River.
Nusqāpts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
,nusqalā·a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nusqalst, "Place of *Sqalst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nusqatl: ɬstāmɣ village.
nusqdjot: Kusiotem rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nusqoilbutstx: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[826] *nusqo:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nus'qodjusmsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to
[431] his guests.
Nusqulxwaista: House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nusqwal: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Lemoqwa's* house.
nusqwalxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nusqwalxwaista: Variant of *Nusqulxwaista.*
Nusqwalxwalmikt Neākymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Neākymm's* canoe.
[198] *Nusqwalxix,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nusqwatlnaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qwatlnusta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqwaxlīn·i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuɣ.*
*Nusq**los:* Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nusqwekstl:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nusqwl: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nusqwatsemsta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nusxlsta:* Locality near *Stuɣ.*
nusxwemālta, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to vali-
[556] date *nuxak* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nusxwemasta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nuxak* dancer.
Nusxlinɣ: Herald of *Smoeux* in the beginning of time.
Nusxlmnāmmsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nusxskmgs: Carpenter.
nusxqwasmā·a: Smear of red paint.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

omātuxlaix: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]

omātuxs, plural, ālomātuxs: *Kusiut* patron.

O'miātl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

O'mielkxs: One of the first women to settle at *Stuxx* in the beginning of time.

O'mixlmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.

Omqomkikka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsmoti* woman who died about 1915.

'Omilom: *ɬstāmɣ* village.

Omɣɬ: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiotem* dancer.

Onikotl: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snuɬəli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.

'onikwatl: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.

Onixwalicua: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiotem* dancer.

Omqwak: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

onostālpstumm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious beatowal.

Onxcitoma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."

Oɱikumɣ: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [824]

o'qok: Skunk cabbage.

Ojolikts: Supernatural being, herald of *Älqunlām.*

ojpa: The steeping of *nsaok* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.

Ojsmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.

ojla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]

Ojwan·i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Qomqo·ts.*

O·qwi·: Place near *Stuxx.*

'Oqwolikdmut: One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.

ojxālemsk': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]

osālaxlām: Hereditary tendency.

osdakān: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827] [784]

osipax: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella.

o·xmtdiqixwaix: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]

osnāxmunaix: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.

Ossoyqpumɣ, "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [585]

osqālām: Distribution of stripe of mountain goat skin at marriage.

ostēmuks: "Where are you going!"

Ostcālikɣ", "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.

oswailaix: First night of a potlatch. [601]

oltk: Third eldest brother or sister.

Oltwya: Name of Mink as chief.

O·lok di Stalumɣ: One of the names of the supreme god.

Olowu: Celebrated *Wauyal·a* warrior.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

q̓álikw: Omen of death, generic term.
q̓álka: One of the berries, probably raspberry. 787
q̓ámā, vocative, q̓ámas: Mother, term used by child.
Q̓amálxem: Celebrated Carrier chief. 824
Q̓amnux: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. 601
2—Mountain behind the village.
*Q̓amspextámem: am'lel-*a name of a Kimsquit man.
q̓amxámila, vocative, q̓amxámilas: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. 825
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. 198
q̓aouxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. 585
q̓aq̓tuks: Unidentified species of duck. 431
Q̓eominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Q̓epátus: Kusiut name of a *Stux* man. 825
Q̓ē·pxaok: ustāmq chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Q̓aq̓ē·li: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Q̓áfos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcafos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
q̓áianm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxum.*
q̓átitsta: Sweat-bath. 515
Q̓álsmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
q̓áiy': Star-fish. 825
q̓ax: Rabbit.
q̓ē·y: Salmon-berry. 824
Q̓aclawāli: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
q̓áxmats: Unidentified plant. 825
q̓alus: Black cod.
q̓am, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. 578
q̓amta: Wooden armour. 714
Q̓anhlst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Q̓aq̓axwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Q̓ēil: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Slskiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stux* in the beginning of time.
q̓ē·ka: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. 825
Q̓ēldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
q̓i'aqs: One of the *a'alk* dances.
Q̓ēlia, "Head": *Stux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. 578
q̓ukpálpāhoslaixqsam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. 431
q̓ulhlitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." 556

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k'ᵊnsts*), of the crow, and of
532 the black bear.
342 The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnxstaitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'x'lstæmh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mh use the raven, robin (*sisi'a'qoaē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ēntlala* (genus?), and *s'alsel'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nuse'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'x'l has the name Smō'xn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sūwā'khnh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kū'sūt. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlōla'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'sūt to the Ta'ētsā'ek·a. The
● 556 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
773 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtslea, to whose
776 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtslea.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

[532]
[575]

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kû'siût these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qē'mtaloa and Qēmqēmalâ'otla wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qē'mtaloa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qēmqēmalâ'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkî'likya (fig. 6) and Aiumalâ'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

556 773 776 532 575 776

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkî'likya.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalâ'otla.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'ômk'ômkî'likya, and K'ô'mtaloa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulê'lina (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'amâ'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ôtsâ'aplêtlâna (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisan'kH, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the Sisan'kH, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to enter. Then he danced the Sisan'kH, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

575 773 776 796

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisaun'ĸu. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ɛ-lu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimōt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'sēōt name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsiɔn name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ɛlu'sta's (which is his Kū'sēōt name) present Qē'mtsiɔn name is Atl'itlemɛ'lno'sem, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaliā'kia. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'sēōt names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsiɔn names have been ascertained (see p. 400). When a man possesses several Sisaun'ĸu secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisaun'ĸu secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaun'ĸu secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisaun'ĸu carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'sēōt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anatlikōtsai'ɛ. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anatlikōtsai'ɛ invited her into her cave and taught

61Boas B-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

her the secrets of the Kʷa'xit. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kʷa'xit. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kʷa'xit.'

Ever since that time the Bilqela dance the Kʷa'xit. When a man has seen Anuhkotsai's sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kʷa'xit. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kʷa'xit lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the Kʷa'xit are also the property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisaʻux dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the Kʷa'xit is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kʷa'xit name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kʷa'xit names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pʼipʼē until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tʼakʷa'xil. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaʻux, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kʷa'xit have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the tlaqʼē'la (the Hāʻmats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Oʻlaq (the Nūʻtlemāl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dāʻla (the Nūʻnāmāl of the Hāʻlʼtsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kʷa'xit novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the tlaqʼē'la is initiated he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqʼē'la. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqʼē'la cedar devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

844 feminine midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[845] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[846] near the room for a year (according to Nuk'xla'eta, for ten days), else
[847] the salmon would take offence.

853 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
● [854] of the Ka'aitt, when it is given its Ka'aitt name. This ceremony takes
place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man
gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qi'etalxa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves
as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed
to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of
the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting pos-
ture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and
drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may
[848] leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[851] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may
pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
[849] a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[850] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[847] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee,
1889, p. 239).

884 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[831] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he
sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries
them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at
once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[832] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding
the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast,
during which he states that he is to be married on the following day.
He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[830] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
885 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally
they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the
girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bride-
groom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[833] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn
gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes
presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he
has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest.
A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man.
At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to
give him his Gusa'ka soonia as soon as the pair have their first child.
[855] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents
may choose.

886 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-
money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter in either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-drums, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [323] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they observe four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, choosing new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [795] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chicken. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [242] [228] [322]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the house of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

751 Wowpu wuse tight Awklats for present
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
411 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
424 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

177 It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
551 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
● 556 are almost a copy of those of the Heiltsuk'. This influence has been so
575 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
776 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
771 the name Alemk'ilkya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
over the world.' K'ûsk'-umk'ilkya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mâ'lxyîlaî (see p. 410)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Mamamk'ûs
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awîk'-
ênoq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

9:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(950) One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the qoq!'ūlt, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xēxcmat'ūl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xēxcmat'ūl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnik'mēx. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xēxcmat'ūl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he hollos. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xēxcmat'ūl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are ala'lequm (supernatural) against them. Frequently the sī'ūa (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the sī'ūa must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancers. It is also ala'lequm against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eye" (k!ē'nalaxēx); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the sī'ūa must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE Q!ŌLŌLA.

(821) (971) The social organizations, festivals, and secret societies of the Bī'xoala are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sīsa'k!, and the k!ōsōt. The sīsa'k! corresponds to the tsa'lōxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the k!ōsōt to the hē'hēmtsa. The Bī'xoala believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Ts'ēmsēm, to whom now the novice is intrusted. He resides (556) with the others in a beautiful house in the far west, and cries "ā, ā," (773) (776)

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises prompt- 556
ly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the kō'xoit three deities make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. Xē'xōtsma and Xemxemalī'wa wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'xōtsma by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xemxemalī'wa has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Atsuk'ī'lā'a and Atsmalī'wa wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'umq'uk'ī'lā'a and
Q'ū'xōtsma have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qois'sowa, whose face represents the
likeness of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kuk'ūm (who
wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, At'sam'k, wears on the head a mask repre-
senting a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called L'ōtsī'qōlē'ōsa (the eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a blubber filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pur-
sued by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisaok'ē, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisaok'ē and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 776
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the sisaok'ē and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Hā'mats'a dance 614
the sisaok'ē. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 524
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 532
sisaok'ē only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the hem- [542]
lāl carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 524
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 532
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegiti- [543]
mate children, can not become sisaok'ē. A person can not take a [542]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nuk'ūlā'wis, the Indian, to whom I [515]

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens Lalt'etamōt of the Talit'sa', stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'sūsi name, which remains through life, and a Xē'sōsōa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nuxt'xlu'sta's (which is his kū'sūsi name) Xē'sōsōa name was Al'LEMAM'lus'sis', but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kalla'kla. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the sisan'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in his stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The kū'sūsi is presided over by a female spirit, called Anatlkuta'·al'a·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anatlkuta'al'a· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'sūsi. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

8;Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the hā'mats!. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the hā'mats!."

Ever since that time the Bi'ɫxula dance the hā'mats!. When a man has seen Anaɫlikuta'xa'i'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a hā'mats!. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each hā'mats! lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the hā'mats! are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisaɫ'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the hā'mats! is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his hā'mats! name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L!'kā'ɫx·. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisaɫ'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the hā'mats! have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Xwā'xwē (the hā'mats!a of the Kwakiutl), the q!Ē (the nā'ɫmas of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'ɫxa (the nā'mimalal of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A hā'mats! novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Xwā'xwē is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Xwā'xwē. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Xwā'xwē order devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears